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ABSTRACT

The influence of the college entrance examination (CEE) on social cohesion in Japanese society is considered, based on a 1976-1977 study in Nagoya, Japan. Attention is focused on socialization of adolescents and educational practice at the secondary level, and specifically cognitive and motivational orientations that are affected by CEE practice, which imposes a framework on the socialization and schooling of adolescents. Schooling at middle/high schools has become increasingly oriented to preparation for high school/college entrance examinations. A majority of adolescents are conditioned to view schooling as truly relevant when it prepares them for the CEE, and this orientation is legitimized by teachers, parents, and society. Social forces contribute to the Japanese pattern of socialization. For example, society attempts to develop cognitive and motivational uniformity through the educational system. In addition, the ideal pattern of social mobility in Japan involves vertical mobility within one work organization, and a college's prestige and rank tends to determine the graduate's opportunities for employment in preferred organizations. Finally, the Japanese regard education as a central means for social mobility. Case studies of three high schools illustrate the importance of the CEE. (SW)

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by

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College Entrance Examinations and Social Cohesion

Introduction

The central problem of this paper is to discuss how the Japanese college entrance examinations (CEE) contribute to social cohesion. The material for this discussion was gathered by and large during my 1976-77 research conducted in Nagoya, Japan.

I will focus on the influence of the CEE on the socialization of adolescents and on educational practice at the secondary school level. I am particularly concerned about the development of the cognitive and motivational orientation among adolescents as it is affected by CEE practice, and about its particular role in the reinforcement of social cohesion.

Generally social cohesion refers to the integration of group behavior, a major problem explored by Emile Durkheim in his classic, Suicide (1966). It is based on social bonds and involves acceptance of social goals, norms, and role structure by the members of society. Cohesive society expects each individual to develop an orientational frame--the motivational and cognitive organization of experience (Goffman, 1974)--compatible with the requirements of social cohesion.

Central to that frame is the role of socialization that preadults undergo. To appreciate the significance of socialization, I shall draw upon the theory of sociology of knowledge developed by Berger and Luckmann (1967). They speak of society as objective and subjective reality, and it is the latter that involves socialization. Socialization is the ontogenetic process of cultural internalization engaged in by the individual. It is the basis for "the apprehension of the world as a meaningful social reality" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:130). In other words it is the comprehensive and

consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society (1967:130), by which his/her subjective world is constructed. Through this process he establishes his coherent and continuous identity, that is, the personal location in the objective world.

In socialization, children undergo intersubjective experience involving typificatory schemes as identified in Berger and Luckmann's theory of knowledge in everyday life (1967:19-46). As children grow, their lives expand through the nesting structure of enculturation: many layers of progressively enlarging experience (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Their experience develops and is patterned through the continuous "typification" of social interaction, a scheme by means of which knowledge in everyday life comes into being. Typificatory schemes of experience are progressively structured in terms of relevance. Much of the experience involved in schooling consists of a continuum of legitimated typificatory schemes.

The "relevance structure" of experience is institutionally controlled and serves as the basis for legitimation. Hence, socialization is the process of assimilating what is socially regarded as relevant and legitimate into the "subjective" frame of experience. What I am especially concerned about in this paper is how Japanese schools impose the relevance structure of experience on the students, and legitimate their cognitive and motivational orientation toward schooling and society.

College Entrance Examinations

The college entrance examinations (CEE) are currently one of the most persistent sources of tension in Japanese life. Pressures for shaping the socialization of adolescents and secondary schools to meet the requirements of the high school and college entrance examinations have become a common source of perpetual anxiety for students and parents, as well as for teachers.

The following descriptions of CEE-induced tension by observers in two different decades reflect such unusual pressures for socializing adolescents for the CEE: one is an observation by Ezra Vogel made in the early 1960s when he studied city life in Tokyo (1965:40):

> No single event, with the possible exception of marriage, determines the course of a young man's life as much as entrance examinations, and nothing, including marriage, requires as many years of planning and hard work.... These arduous preparations constitute a kind of rite de passage whereby a young man proves that he has the qualities of ability and entrance for becoming a salary man.

Another observation made by a group of OECD members a decade later puts the same problem in a broader perspective (1971:88-89):

> In the popular mind, universities are ranked in a strict hierarchy of prestige, secondary schools are ranked in terms of the number of students they can place in prestigious institutions, and graduates are judged by many employers and others in terms of the university, and faculty of a university, into which they win admission through the examination system, rather than in terms of what they know and are able to do. Thus, there is a general belief that a student's performance in one crucial examination at about the age of 18 is likely to determine the rest of his life. In other words: the university entrance examination is the primary sorting device for careers in Japanese society.

Intense competition generated by the CEE continued through the 1970s and the present decade, and has been further stimulated by the proliferation of the examination-centered educational industry that has been highly effective in exploiting students' anxiety and their dependency on external assistance. However, admission to college is no longer a special privilege, for 40% of the high school graduates currently advance to college. Meanwhile, 95% of ninth graders completing compulsory schooling also attend high school. In 1975, 38.4% of the 1.6 million eligible youth (those who had reached 18 years of age) entered colleges, and the total enrollment of Japanese college students amounted to a little more than 2.1 million.

Approximately 800,000 applicants take the CEE every year from February

through March. There is particularly intense competition among those applicants who seek admission to the national universities. Academically able applicants tend to concentrate upon these schools, which are less costly and generally considered more prestigious and better financed than the private institutions. Average rates of competition, computed as the number of total applicants divided by the number admitted, at the national institutions in 1974, for example, were as follows: 8.3 in humanities; 6.8 in social sciences; 5.3 in natural sciences and engineering; 11.6 in medicine and dentistry; and 4.8 in education (Ministry of Education, 1976).

Among the private institutions, although a few are outstanding, the majority rank lower than the national universities. Competition for admission to the private institutions is equally high, however, because each applicant takes examinations at three to four different institutions and sometimes in different fields within the same university.

Despite such competition, only one-third of the total applicants were not admitted to college in 1975. The intense competition reflects the fact that the applicants compete most fiercely for admission to the universities with the highest prestige. The competition is heightened even more because nearly 40% of the applicants (excluding those for the two-year colleges) consist of what are called rōnin students (the term formerly denoted the lordless samurai)--high school graduates who devote a year or more at home or at private preparatory schools to prepare exclusively for the CEE for particular colleges because of having failed to gain admission in a previous year. The existence of a large number of rōnin students is peculiar to Japanese society, and suggests that youth regard admission to particular colleges as especially crucial.

The CEE carries the greatest weight in deciding admissions to colleges. It alone determines admissions to the national and other publicly controlled colleges, since such other kinds of relevant information as high school scholastic records, teachers' recommendations, and aptitude are little considered, although the submission of carefully prepared high school reports is required. This reflects a Japanese cultural orientation in which individual characteristics are not considered to be as essential as the standard of the group. Therefore, it is the criteria of a group to which individual identity is subjected. Thus, the applicant has no alternative but to concentrate upon preparing for the CEE, which are given only once a year. In addition, during the examination period, the applicant is forced to cope with accumulated pressures that culminate in enormous tension during the examination itself.

Many private colleges follow the criteria for admission established by the national and other publicly controlled colleges, although other variables, such as the ability of the applicant's family to contribute financially, often become important factors. The financial contribution is very important to private medical schools in particular. In 1976, for example, there were only two private medical schools in the nation that did not require financial contributions as a condition for admission.

I will explore the examination-oriented educational industry further, for it is a highly significant factor in the intensification of pressure exerted upon students. Numerous private tutoring services; tutoring schools that operate in parallel with the elementary, middle, and high schools; and college preparatory schools exist today in order to respond to the constraining influence of examinations. They are often called juku, which

referred to private schools organized during the Tokugawa period. An authoritative survey indicates that there are nearly 50,000 juku in Japan offering services to middle and elementary school students (Asahi Shimbun, 1977). The survey reports that about 27 percent of all sixth graders and 38 percent of all middle school students attend juku. In the urban areas with populations of more than 100,000, nearly 50 percent of the middle school students go to juku. So intense is the demand that 60 percent of the juku have been established since 1966, although their growth has also been promoted by other private educational industries and retired teachers, as well as moonlighting teachers (17 percent of the juku teachers), who have capitalized upon the potential demand for preparatory and sometimes compensatory schooling and tutoring. The juku, in their turn, further stimulate the competition among students. Like new private colleges, many juku wax and wane and are esentially businesses.

Furthermore, a large proportion of high school students, about the same as the middle school students, attend juku after school and on Sundays to receive examination drilling. The scale of these juku varies from mammoth preparatory schools accommodating more than 10,000, available in every large city, to small ones for a half-dozen students. Large juku have full-time instructors and handsome dormitories for rōnin who come from distant towns and cities. Some of them have staffs that conduct nationwide exercise examinations and also publish successful drill books.

Following a similar orientation, a number of publishing firms specialize in drill books, magazines, tests, and references related to the entrance examinations. These published materials occupy probably a quarter of the bookshelves in a typical Japanese bookstore. Apparently, the more these firms can create anxiety on the part of students and their parents, the

more materials they can sell.

Influence of CEE on Schooling

The CEE have a powerful effect upon secondary and even elementary education. The very orientation of secondary education is defined by the pressures of the CEE, which imposes a particular framework upon the socialization and schooling of adolescents, according to which their cognitive and motivational orientations to education are developed. In other words, a majority of adolescents are conditioned to view schooling as truly relevant when it promotes preparation for the CEE and as only marginally useful when it does not contribute to their ultimate goal--university admission. Obviously, adolescents experience a great deal of self-denial and lack intrinsic motivation for learning. It is within this framework that most nonvocational high schools, constituting two-thirds of all high schools, serve as preparatory agents for the CEE by orienting their entire educational processes toward the demands of the examinations.

Meanwhile, in the middle schools, education has become increasingly aimed at preparing for the high school entrance examinations. A common assumption is that the degree of academic competitiveness at a given high school ultimately determines the rank of the college to which its students can gain entry. This assumption clearly leads to competition for admission to high schools that are highly ranked academically. Therefore, most middle schools are invariably oriented toward preparing students to compete successfully for entrance to high schools.

At all high schools (excluding the vocational high schools), teaching methods and curricula are designed largely to meet the requirements for the CEE. Hence, they have been turned into cram systems in one way or another. Many schools, for example, adopt a system where text-based teaching

in major subjects, such as mathematics and English, is shortened and completed by the end of the second year or early in the third year, so that the remaining time can be devoted to CEE drilling. Drill books, consisting of examination questions given in the past, are often used in place of texts. In addition, most students, particularly seniors, are required to take a number of exercise tests, including several tests designed by particular schools expressly for the CEE, a half-dozen mock entrance examinations given by private corporations, and term and midterm tests. Most of these tests, other than term tests, are taken only to improve the ability of the students to take examinations.

Socialization for Examinations

Earlier I pointed out that a preadult's experience develops through a typificatory continuum of experience and that typificatory schemes of learning are structured in terms of relevance. I further emphasized that much socialization consists of legitimated typificatory schemes. The relevance of students' experience in secondary schools when they seek access to further education is determined to a great extent in terms of its relationship to the requirements of the CEE, and the relevant experience is legitimated by teachers, parents, and society. Meanwhile, the typification of everyday experience results in the patterning of individual behavior and orientation toward one's world. It establishes one's identity in the world of adolescent experience. Schooling places special emphasis on the legitimation of the typificatory continuum of cognitive activities, behavioral patterns, and attitudes oriented toward the entrance examinations. What follows is an analysis of typificatory schemes that students develop.

Case Studies

Established in a suburban area just outside the city limits of Nagoya in 1968, Azuma High School has a reputation as a rigorous new prefectural

school trying to catch up with the academic standard of traditional schools in the city. It is viewed as the model for over 60 recently established public high schools in Aichi Prefecture, of which Nagoya is the capital. Azuma's reputation for unique high school education is known not only in the immediate vicinity, but also many other prefectures.

Azuma enrolls students who are by and large in the 50th percentile of their middle schools in Nagoya and its neighboring communities. Many of them were rejected by the more competitive schools in Nagoya. Teachers at Azuma admit that many of its tenth grade students lack basic cognitive skills essential to their grade level, and especially lack a habit of sustained learning when they first enter the school. Yet every year Azuma places 95% of its graduates in colleges, while one-third of them win admission to local national universities. It has outdistanced recently established high schools in its ability to place students in relatively good colleges.

Azuma faculty assume that their success is a cumulative result of the school's group-oriented program called seikatsushidō (guidance for living), that, from the school's inception, has emphasized a pattern of disciplined behavior. Specifically, the school stresses such behavioral and attitudinal attributes as self-denial, strict conformity to the group, endurance, prompt response to external expectations, and acceptance of teachers as the source of academic and moral authority.

The new students are exposed to group training from the first day of attendance in the spring (the academic year begins in April). Under the supervision of teachers and senior students, the program involves rigorous physical training for half a day, which requires swift and precise coordinated movement and quick response to authority. Each individual is regarded as a part of the group, and individual tardiness is viewed as a responsibility of

the group. Thereafter, this training is used as the model for various activities, including daily cleaning of the school, athletic contests, and club activities. Invariably emphasized in this behavioral model are orderliness, promptness, and control of behavior.

Furthermore, the sophomore students undergo an intensive four-day initiation ritual, often called genpukushiki by teachers and students (originally an initiation ritual required for the induction of adolescents into adulthood conducted during the Heian period), so as to internalize further expectations of the teachers and to achieve the "sedimentation" of a proper pattern of conduct. The teachers have observed that after this ritual a majority of students begin to display behavioral and orientational characteristics desired by the faculty.

Teachers, students, and a few parent volunteers spend three days in a distant mountainous area, staying in a local inn at night. All sophomores are required to participate in varied activities, including group living, mountain climbing, building camp fires, and visiting temples. Each starts early in the morning when teachers whistle to signal all students to get up. Students are required to line up immediately in the specified area. Teachers emphasize promptness and punctuality. Students are punished when they are disorderly and disobedient. Although this program is an extension of the spring physical training, it is more intensive and even "shocking" for many students.

The faculty apply the aforementioned principles of behavior and attitudes in the classroom to develop a disciplined habit of sustained learning. In the senior year students receive supplementary drilling for CEE everyday before and after the regular class schedules. In addition, during the summer the school offers a condensed cramming session for the senior students for

for four days and three nights. This is intended to test students' ability to concentrate on study and endurance. Azuma's primary techniques for CEE preparation are constant drilling and repetitive review to reinforce student mastery of the subjects essential to the CEE.

Azuma does not ignore extracurricular activities, even though its primary goal is to prepare students for the CEE during the three years of high school education. Sophomore and junior students are extensively involved in these activities. In the senior year, however, most students withdraw from extracurricular activities before the summer, the better to concentrate on CEE preparation. The daily schedule of an above-average student taken three months prior to the CEE reveals the intensity of his preparation: The student got up at 6:30 a.m. and reached school at 7:30. From 7:30 to 8:30 he received morning supplementary drilling (four times a week), followed by regular morning class at 8:50. Classes ended at 3:10 p.m. and were followed by afternoon drilling (twice a week) from 3:40 to 5:00; he returned home by 6:00. After supper he began to study at 8:00 and continued until 1:00 in the morning.

Tests are given periodically at Azuma to evaluate the students' performance. In addition, most students take national mock examinations conducted by private corporations six times in the senior year to improve skills in test taking, and also to identify individual ranks at the regional and national levels.

As seen above, though its educational programs are diversified and extracurricular activities are suitably emphasized, Azuma's central concern is preparation for the CEE. Students' legitimate motivational and cognitive frameworks are largely defined by the common requirements of the CEE. Azuma faculty encourage students to follow their drilling plans instead of attend-

ing juku in Nagoya, which obviates the option of spending an extra year in CEE preparation as ronin. In fact, far fewer students at Asuma attend juku, and choose to be ronin than students in the city.

Let us turn to another school. In sharp contrast, "Asada" Prefectural High School has been regarded as a traditional "preparatory" school in Nagoya, established in the early Meiji period. In the past it enrolled only the cream of students drawn from nearly 200 middle schools in Aichi Prefecture. Asada's reputation in the postwar period reached its apex around 1967, when it placed 73 graduates in Tokyo University, and 35 in Kyoto University. Most schools in Nagoya at that time could place only a few graduates in Tokyo University. Public criticism of Asada's elitism mounted toward the end of the 1960s, which resulted in the establishment in 1973 of a prefectural policy requiring Asada and comparable public schools in the city to accept less qualified applicants.

Yet, Asada's internal policy has changed very little. Faculty gear the organization and pacing of instruction and drilling to the students on superior performance. For example, they teach 20% more than the requirements defined in the Education Ministry's courses of study, and complete text-based instruction early in the senior year. This enables faculty to devote most of the senior year to drilling students, using exam exercise books consisting of selected CEE questions from the past. This policy affects not only the seniors, but also juniors and sophomores. Students are driven to excel from their first year at the school, though many fail. A profile of a sophomore student reflects the priority placed on superior preparation for CEE.

This student was an ambitious, brilliant boy. When he was a ninth grader, he received the highest scores in regional mock tests in his middle

school. He attended Kawai Juku, the largest private preparatory school in Nagoya, which enrolls about 15,000 students of different ages, from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. every day. He often used a timer to determine how many questions he could correctly answer in a given period of time. He was able to engage in other activities as well. In the eighth grade he served as president of the student council of his school. Early in ninth grade he received first prize for his English composition in a citywide contest, and also won a gold medal in a prefectural contest for his composition on taxation; the composition was later entered in a national contest. His test results at Asada had not been good in his view. He felt he had not been disciplining himself well, so he decided to quit the judo club, and he attended Kawai Juku and another juku simultaneously. Disappointed that he could not receive as much stimulation as he originally expected from his classmates, he felt he had to be an "individualist," driving himself rigorously. In the current CEE system, he said, competition and the survival of the fittest are the foremost rules. Therefore, in order to surpass others, according to him, he had to "study limitlessly and memorize everything." His parents agreed with his view. His aspiration was to study medicine at Tokyo University.

In contrast to Azuma, Asada has a far more relaxed orientation toward the notion of authority and the manner in which individual students prepare for the CEE. Bright students are expected to challenge teachers. The school does not offer supplementary drilling and related programs, other than prolonged, intensive drilling during the class period. Students are expected to make their own plans for CEE preparation: nearly 50 percent of the students at the school either participate in condensed juku programs in the spring or summer or attend juku on a yearly basis. About 50 percent of the students become ronin, having failed to pass the entrance examinations the first time.

Differences between Azuma and Asada students are obvious. Similarities between them are equally clear. Though the former receive drilling and reinforcement of mastery of the examination subjects at the school, the latter undergo the same processes at the school as well as in juku. The relevance of students' high school experience is defined by and large in terms of their devotion to CEE preparation. Emphasis is universally placed upon the typificatory schemes of orientational and behavioral responses to the CEE requirements. The world in which high school students live requires them to sacrifice their pleasures, spontaneity, and sparkle for success in the examinations. No senior students interviewed at the above schools and others had opportunities to date or go to movie theaters during the senior year, except probably once during the summer. A main reason is obviously that they have no time to spend on leisure. Despite their interest in such experiences and in the opposite sex, they must sublimate those interests until they enter college.

A female student at Fuji High School, a national school run under the direct supervision of Nagoya University, discussed how much she was constrained by CEE pressures. She felt quite guilty when she stayed at school until late in the afternoon chatting with boys, or when she slept for more than seven hours, even during the weekend. She was obsessed by feelings that she was wasting time and falling behind, and as a result her tension led to sporadic nervous stomach aches. A male senior related his experience as well. Although he was able to work on drills for sustained periods of time, he found continuous concentration on study day after day very difficult. Consequently, he often sat in contemplation, as in Zen meditation, for a while and washed his face with cold water; sometimes, he wrote poetry or sang aloud before returning to study. Feelings of guilt and anxiety were

aroused when he could not solve drill problems or when he slept a whole night due to fatigue.

Throughout Japan there are 37 national high schools affiliated with national universities. Certain national high schools choose to deemphasize drilling for CEE, but the others stress it and have become nationally competitive preparatory schools. The faculties of Nagoya University's School of Education and Fuji High School deemphasize such drilling to offer balanced high school education. Graduates of Fuji Middle School can advance to its senior high school without entrance examinations, and applicants from other middle schools are chosen for admission by lottery.

Deemphasizing the intensive preparation for CEE and the admission of applicants without competitive entrance examinations represents a highly exceptional practice in Japan. Consequently, Fuji is considered to lack the requisite rigor and to be inferior to CEE-oriented schools in the city. Fuji's practice creates an invariable dilemma for most students throughout their high school education. Though they can appreciate the relatively relaxed atmosphere in the school, they often worry about their disadvantage in preparing for the CEE and about their low ranks determined by frequent mock entrance examinations at the national and regional levels. Hence the majority of students at Fuji extensively seek external assistance for CEE preparation from private tutors and juku. In other words, the universal CEE pressures force Fuji students to conform to the typificatory schemes of drilling and a narrowly framed organization of motivational and cognitive orientation functional to CEE requirements.

Pattern of Japanese Socialization

Passage from adolescence to adulthood always poses a critical problem for any society. We can view Japanese education and CEE drilling as a

uniquely intensive and unusually pressured preparation for the passage into the adult world. Pressures for personal achievement peak around the age of 18, when preadults take the college entrance examinations. Covert pressures for the examinations generally start around the age of 12 or 13, however, via high school entrance examinations, success in which can eventually provide superior preparation for the CEE. Pressures for individual achievement to pass the entrance examinations intensify in the years of adolescence. Once access to college has been attained, these pressures diminish drastically and, after graduation from college they remain stable on a lower plateau. When college graduates obtain employment, they find the familiar pressure for individual excellence eroding in the face of a demand for group achievement.

There are three kinds of social forces, among others, that account for the Japanese pattern of socialization.

(1) Irrespective of the societal complexity and development, institutional activities facilitating the passage to adulthood invariably emphasize the establishment of coherent identity of the individuals in society (Eisenstandt 1956). The development of coherent identity assumes that preadults are expected to internalize common elements of cognitive and motivational orientations essential to social cohesion. For this purpose, as Van Gennep documents, the novice in primitive societies received (1969: 74-75):

> ... instruction in tribal law and a gradual education as the novice witnesses totem ceremonies, recitations of myth.... The final act is a religious ceremony, and, above all, a special mutilation which varies with the tribe and which makes the novice forever identical with the adult members.

In contrast, for Japanese youth coherent identity consists in the development of uniformity with respect to cognitive and motivational orientation, which is facilitated by schooling and CEE drilling. Although it is difficult

to offer empirical evidence supporting the extent to which the society's attempt to develop cognitive and motivational uniformity is accomplished by the educational system, we have seen enough evidence of its institutional activities intended to achieve such uniformity.

(2) The ideal pattern of social mobility in Japan involves vertical mobility within the work organizations offering lifetime employment, rather than horizontal mobility among these organizations, seeking further rewards and recognition. The former mobility requires that an individual gain access to a desired organization immediately after his graduation from college. Once he gains employment, his social status is viewed in terms of the level of social prestige that his company displays (Nakane, 1972: 104-120). The social prestige and rank of the college from which one graduates, meanwhile, tend to determine his opportunities for employment by the corporation or government bureau that he chooses. Therefore, winning admission to prestigious colleges is crucial for the futures of young people, and guarantees that they will obtain employment at socially prestigious and stable corporations. This creates unusual pressures for CEE competition.

(3) Intense pressures for entrance examinations are by no means unique to the postwar era. Students had to cope with them in the early 20th century (late in the Meiji period) (Amano, 1982: 166). The Japanese see their society as based on a monolithic structure whose social stratification is the consequence of the vertical ordering of institutions (Nakane, 1972: 87-103). Likewise, they view their institutions of higher education in the same frame of reference, which leads to ranking universities and colleges. They also regard education as a central means for social mobility: the view based on the assumption that Japanese society is egalitarian and encourages "contest mobility." This assumption has been supported by empirical evidence (Amano,

tions. In other words, this type of socialization achieves a significant degree of uniformity in young Japanese' cognitive and motivational orientations toward society. Furthermore, homogeneity in these organizations is a functional element of group orientation, one of the primary guiding principles of social interaction (Lebra, 1976; Shimahara, 1979).

In group-oriented Japanese society, which views individuals as members of groups (Nakane, 1972; Shimahara, 1979), the CEE are a powerful device for allocating young men and women to different groups via colleges and universities. Further, they effectively orient these individuals to the existing role structure of society. In this manner the CEE make the legitimacy of the role structure overt to young Japanese. To gain permanent membership in a work organization with social prestige that guarantees lifelong security is a culturally shared ultimate goal for them. This can be accomplished only through the rigorous, prolonged socialization for the CEE.

Intensity in CEE preparation and CEE competition is sustained by individual acceptance of the Japanese pattern of vertical mobility within work organizations as an "ideal" type. This mobility pattern has evolved in Japanese society based on the predominant cultural pattern of group orientation emphasizing homogeneity, inclusiveness, and verticality (Kawashima, 1957; Nakane, 1967; Ariga, 1969; Kitano, 1976). It is the primary source of the social and cultural force that motivates adolescents to postpone gratification of present needs and to compete for future social rewards defined in the role structure of society.

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